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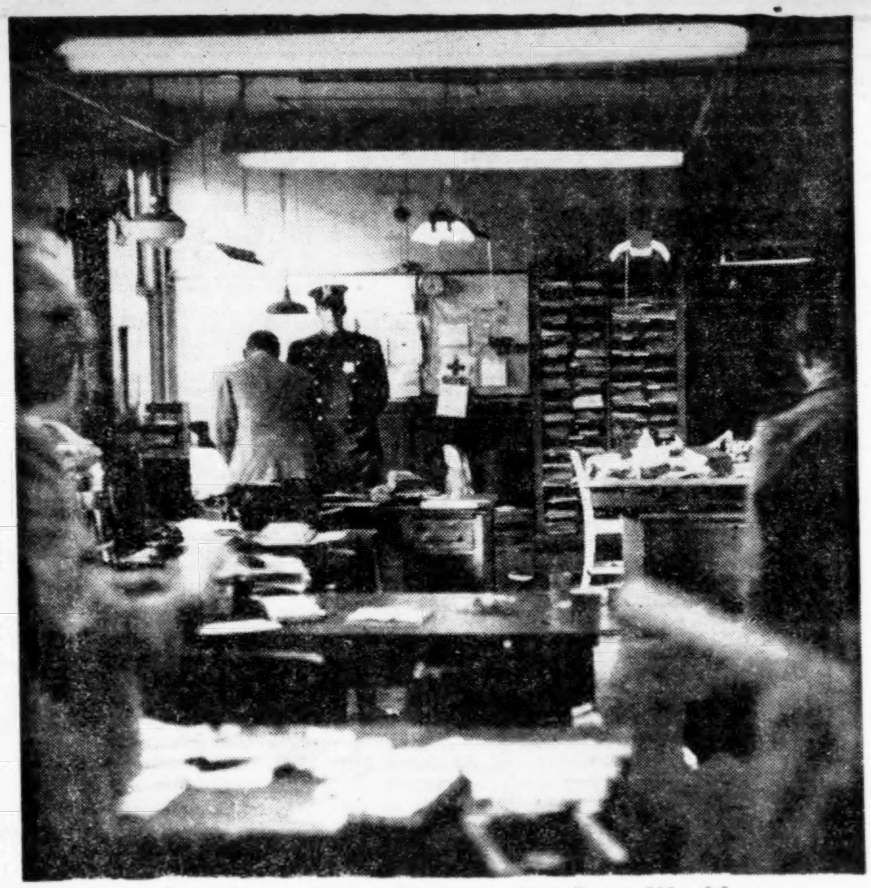

Freedom of the Press in the Free World
"Daily Worker" office after seizure. See Report to Readers, p. 2

BOTH PARTIES COULD GET BURNED

Farmers' revolt sets off prairie fire in Midwest; unite-with-labor drive on

By Lawrence Emery

FARM LEGISLATION in this crucial 1956 Presidential year was in a hopeless mess last week as Congress took off on a ten-day Easter recess, and a hot political prairie fire was raging across the Midwest Farm Belt in which both parties could get badly burned. There were profound grass-roots stirrings that could force a major shift toward farmer-labor unity and, potentially at least, open the way toward decisive independent political action.

In Washington the once powerful farm bloc was in a state of collapse. Democrats were revealed to have no cohesive farm program of their own and against the Eisenhower-Benson crusade to drive small farmers off the land they had nothing to offer except what Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), chairman of the Agriculture Committee, himself called a "few little gadgets."

CONTEST COMING UP: House-Senate conferees who were supposed to straighten out the mishmash of a farm bill adopted by the Senate seemed to be making it more of a hodgepodge than ever. The upshot could well be that no farm legislation at all would come out of Congress this year. The Washington **Post** noted that

". . . it looks suspiciously as if the conferees have given up the effort to get help to the farmer in 1956 and are leisurely setting the stage for a big farm-belt political contest."

Democratic Party strategists were as surprised as the Republicans at the depth of the farm revolt as revealed in the Kefauver victory in Minnesota. But they were more concerned with exploiting it for their own political fortunes than in doing anything effective immediately to get the farmer out of the cost-price squeeze in which the Eisenhower-Benson program has trapped him.

NORTH DAKOTA SHIFT: That the Democrats might become the temporary beneficiaries of farm unrest is indicated in North Dakota where the Nonpartisan League on March 29 decided officially to end a 40-year tie with the Republican Party. The switch was actually made earlier in precinct meetings all over the state which decided to file candidates in the Democratic primaries this year.

N. Y. Herald Tribune
Dramatic moment at Democratic homestead

The League's official organ, **The Leader,** said it was "experiencing a rebirth" and that "many farmers think this will be the year of salvation or ruin for the family-sized farmer—this decided on the political front." The shift of allegiance was called "the beginning of an unprecedented repudiation of the Republican Party's collapsible price support program."

League leaders saw the unification of the progressive vote in the state resulting from the new turn; said one: "For 20 years the liberal people have been out of control of their state government."

NEW ORGANIZATION: But the hottest fire was being generated in Iowa and Missouri and by last week was spreading into Illinois, Indiana, Montana, Colorado, Nebraska, Kansas, South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin. It all started last September when a group of hog-raisers in Corning, Ia., met to do something about declining farm prices. They set up the National Farmers Organization and decided to

(Continued on Page 10)

DECISION IN NELSON CASE

Supreme Court nullifies state anti-sedition laws

IN A 6 TO 3 DECISION, the U. S. Supreme Court on April 2 decreed that the Federal government has sole power to prosecute cases of "sedition" or "subversion." The ruling in effect nullifies anti-sedition laws now on the books in 41 states and in Alaska and Hawaii.

The decision was made in the case of Steve Nelson, Communist leader in Pennsylvania who was convicted under that state's anti-sedition law and sentenced to 20 years, fined $10,000 plus court costs of $13,000. Later Nelson was convicted under the Smith Act and sentenced to five years. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversed the state conviction on the ground that the Federal government, by the adoption of the Smith Act and other laws, has pre-empted the field and superseded state laws. It was that ruling that the U. S. Supreme Court upheld.

31 STATES IN CASE: Two others tried with Nelson are also freed by the new ruling.

Pennsylvania, in appealing the decision of its own highest court, was joined in the action by 30 other states and the Dept. of Justice.

The Court's majority opinion, written by Chief Justice Earl Warren, said:

"Since we find that Congress has occupied the field to the exclusion of parallel state legislation, that the dominant interest of the Federal Government precludes state intervention and the administration of state acts would conflict with the operation of the Federal plan, we are convinced that the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania is unassailable. . . .

"Without compelling indication to the contrary, we will not assume that Congress intended to permit the possibility of double punishment."

Nelson in Pittsburgh called the ruling "a great victory for the people and a substantial defeat and setback for McCarthyism."

Nelson's conviction under the Smith Act is still to be reviewed by the Supreme Court.

BRADEN CASE AFFECTED: The decision eventually must clear Carl Braden, now convicted under Kentucky's anti-sedition law for having, with others, purchased a home in a white neighborhood and turned it over to a Negro family.

Braden is the only one of the group to have been tried and his conviction is now on appeal to the Kentucky Court of Appeals. Kentucky Atty. Gen. J. M. Ferguson declared that despite the Supreme Court ruling he will continue to try to uphold the conviction.

THE RE-APPRAISAL—IN AND OUT OF RUSSIA

In the wake of the 20th Congress

By Elmer Bendiner

THE RESULTS OF THE 20th Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party was shaking up minds and doctrines more than any event since the Bolshevik revolution almost 40 years ago. Though the upheaval was still turning up more questions than answers, it was already sparking re-appraisals inside and outside the Soviet Union, by Communists, Socialists, liberals, reactionaries.

If for the moment one put aside questions of how and why, the surface effects seemed all to the good. Inside the Soviet Union, the Congress reflected greater confidence. However the final rewrite of history might read, socialism had incontestably been built in one country and had raised that country from a backward feudalism to the second mightiest industrial power on earth—and promised greater advances within the next decade. The capitalist encirclement seemed broken for all time, a "peace zone" of socialist and neutral countries ringed the world and if peace was not inevitable neither was war.

SCORCHED CHAIRS: In the open sessions of the Congress CP Secy. Nikita Khrushchev called on the rank-and-file to assert itself. He bawled out local Soviets for not meeting oftener, officials for not reporting to their constituents and their constituents for not exercising their right to recall inefficient representatives. He urged trade unions to get tougher in negotiating plant agreements and ripped into chair warmers in party and state jobs, revealing that 750,000 persons had been fired from their desk jobs and put to productive work. He quoted poet Maya-

(Continued on Page 8)

IN THIS ISSUE

FRANCE AT CROSSROADS
Tabitha Petran in Paris....p. 3

MIKE GOLD ON FAULKNER
Thinking with the blood....p. 7

ON THE BRITISH LEFT
Cedric Belfrage reports.....p. 5

MIDDLE EAST BACKGROUND
Kumar Goshal's survey.....p. 4

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THE MAIL BAG

Joseph V. Stalin

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I believe what's been happening in the Soviet Union recently is that there has been an attempt on the part of the new Soviet leaders to disprove all the charges aimed at the Soviets by the West. Naturally, these attacks are not new and have their origins at the time the Soviet Union came into existence. In order to promote the idea of co-existence, it was probably found necessary to refute some of the more important accusations such as dictatorship, slave-labor camps, no religious freedom, etc.

Capitalists are bound to launch attacks in one form or another on any country or countries striving to achieve a different society, and naturally the intelligent, broad-minded person will take this into consideration in evaluating criticism of the Soviet Union, China or the Eastern European countries. However, in a period such as the present, when the important thing is co-existence and peace, it apparently became necessary to demonstrate in a concrete way that the charges made are without foundation. This is why I believe the doctrine of glorifying any one individual is openly discarded by the present leadership in the Soviet Union.

The great exchange of scientists, technicians, artists, etc., is, I feel, a sincere attempt to show the world that the "Iron Curtain" idea is not as true as Western propagandists have been trying to make it. The Soviet Union is making a great attempt to show the world that it is flexible, willing to learn by its mistakes and is certainly not the brutal dictatorship our commercialized means of propaganda would have everyone believe. This is a healthy step in the right direction.

Meanwhile, our own system continues to promote racial persecution, huge profits for a small group, lack of housing and medical care and other social problems. It is up to us to concentrate on our own internal problems and never lose sight of our own need to change. **S. P.**

•

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Assuming it is true that Khrushchev has in effect called Stalin a villain, this makes all Communist Party leadership of that period either villains, too, or very poor Marxists. If Khrushchev is telling the truth now, he and the Party may be painfully honest at this moment—but what were they doing during Stalin's time?

Personally, I have long felt that the U.S.S.R. deserved a lot of criticism as well as a lot of credit; and while I thought Stalin was a very intelligent man, and one honestly dedicated to the fulfillment of socialism, I have believed since some time in '46 or '47 that he had too much power for any one man and that he wasn't depending enough on the true democracy he reputedly believed in. However, I never thought he was the villain it seems he has been proclaimed.

Anyway, the conclusion I draw is that all governments must depend ultimately on intelligence and honesty, and where this is lacking—one or the other or both—the best of the theory is useless. **Al Amery**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

There was a hitch in the arrangements about the car in which the Queen and the Duke should drive (from the airport to their yacht in Ajaccio). Corsican officials found a car they considered splendid enough for the occasion. Then they discovered that the car's owner had been divorced.

It was thought that the Queen might be embarrassed over that. So a brand new bullet-nosed Citroen, shaped like a space rocket, was hurriedly brought by sea from Marseilles.

—London Sunday Express, March 11.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Cedric Belfrage, London. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

RIDGEWOOD, N.Y.

I enjoyed Elmer Bendiner's calm and factual summary of the reactions to the Soviet reappraisal of Stalinism. I think myself that the "ism" was more important than the man, and that is what the Russians are getting after.

But in discussing the American Communists and the Left, Mr. Bendiner forgets a book which has had a wide circulation and which your paper reviewed quite favorably last October. I mean Joseph R. Starobin's **Paris to Peking**, published by Cameron Associates.

That book had all the elements which would have prepared any thoughtful reader for what is happening now, and the last chapter especially deals with the need for a reappraisal by the Left of its mistakes. On different roads to Socialism, and the need for an American approach and full and frank debate within the Left, Starobin was ahead of the big discussion now going on. In fact, he helped many of us. **M. W.**

•

VENTNOR, N.J.

Re Elmer Bendiner's good and true report about the Stalin affair: probably Stalin could do nothing about the will of his people to venerate him — as before him Lenin.

I am still puzzled about the statement of the Congressional committee that communism teaches the overthrow of any government by "force." Marx warned the German working class that the bourgeoisie would use military force to fight against the workers if they should one day win the majority in the Reichstag, and therefore to prepare to fight for their decisions.

A. Dornblatt

"Daily Worker" padlock

NEW YORK, N.Y.

There is absolutely no justification for the outrageous padlock of the **Daily Worker** offices. The "tax issue" is a poor excuse for the prohibition of freedom of the press. If the government insists there is an issue, let it be done in a clean legal manner.

To my mind there is no issue, for certainly it is quite evident that the **Daily Worker** is in no social position to be acquiring an income. And I would venture to say that the "authorities" know this quite well too. But just to "assure" themselves of the truth, they insist upon obtaining the names of all contributors to the annnal $200,000 deficit of the **Daily Worker**. If it's names that's going to be the criterion on which the **Daily Worker** can come back to its office it must be oddly deduced that there is something mighty peculiar going on in the Internal Revenue office.

People had better get hot and protest to our "most protective and constitutional" U.S. government, or this underhanded scrutiny is going to affect other progressive publications also. **Dorian Bartlett**

Thanks, neighbor

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We wish to thank you and your readers for the response to our 1955 Christmas appeal. The response this year went far beyond our fondest hopes—as of March 1, the total had reached $8,500, and returns are still coming in. This has well enabled us to meet our expenses of over $1,000 a month.

We wish we could personally thank every contributor, to express what each gift has meant in terms of bridging the space barrier between husbands and wives, fathers and children; in building a living window into the outside world by means of newspapers, magazines and books; in supplementing the inadequate prison supplies through additional commissary.

Many who contributed to the Families of the Smith Act Victims have done so from the kind impulse of the human heart. But many others feel in addition, and have expressed it in letters to us, that the Smith Act is a thoroughly discredited and un-American piece of legislation that must be gotten rid of as quickly as possible. They feel that those men and women who have been or are or may yet be in prison, have helped roll back the tide of McCarthyism, and so have played an important part in the struggle for a free America and a peaceful world.

By responding to the Families' appeal these contributors are in a sense responding to the deepest and most patriotic needs of the times—the restoration of the Bill of Rights to the high honored place it deserves.

In this spirit, again our thanks to them and to the GUARDIAN.

Dorothy R. Blumberg, Exec. Secy,
Families of Smith Act Victims
575 Sixth Av., New York 11

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Can't we make contributions to some one as an inducement not to run?"

Welcome, stranger

CHICAGO, ILL.

The other night a stranger came to my house and introduced himself by saying he's been reading the GUARDIAN for a number of years and felt badly because his business contacts would not permit him to do the things he wanted to do. Then he said:

"Here is $265 which I just collected as a dividend on General Motors stock which I want you to give to the GUARDIAN so that we may have an America free from insanity and hysteria.

"I only wish I could be active in this fight for the preservation of the Bill of Rights, justice and peace, but my biggest accounts are monopolists and if they knew what I'm thinking about I'd lose my livelihood."

This man was a modest man of a long line of American ancestors and I could see in him the great heritage of resistance to witch-hunts and fakers. He assured me that this money was only a part of what he would do in the future to help carry on the work the GUARDIAN is doing; and that he has set up a trust fund to carry on for the GUARDIAN. He wants the staff of the GUARDIAN to know (including Cedric Belfrage) of his admiration and respect. This man's visit gave me a lift just as I'm sure all you good people at the GUARDIAN will get a lift from this check and the knowledge that there must be thousands of such anonymous Americans around who think the same of you. I'd like to hear from any more in these parts.

Mandel Terman

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Vol. 8, No. 25 178 APRIL 9, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

The 'Worker' raid

THE REVENOOERS' RAID on the **Daily Worker** newspaper office March 27 was a preview of how the goblins'll gang up on you even if you do watch out. It is a fair warning, also, of how a repressive government can harass the life out of any newspaper, political party, defense committee, trade union, research outfit or any other luckless enterprise without technically interfering with basic American freedoms.

The **Worker** has operated since 1924 just as you might have expected: on subs, newsstand sales, meager ads, fund-raising functions, pennies, nickels and dollars contributed by people truly concerned with a free and vigorous press; and loans of larger amounts from those willing and able to lend; and many missed paydays by the staff. It has always operated at a deficit, running as high as $200,000 a year. The **Worker** has faithfully filed tax reports showing its losses. Its just taxes, such as withholdings, have been faithfully paid.

Last year the revenooers came prying around the **Worker** (as they have to some trade unions, to the Rosenberg Committee and elsewhere less publicized), obviously seeking information having little bearing on taxes. They wanted the names of contributors, lenders and the like.

THE PENALTY FOR REFUSAL was an arbitrary judgment declaring the **Worker's** entire income as taxable, with no recognition of the costs of operation which piled up the annual deficit.

It is as if a taxi driver were taxed on his total fares and tips without the right to deduct for gas, tires, insurance and payments on the vehicle, because of his refusal or inability to disclose the identity of those who tipped him or lent him the money to go into business.

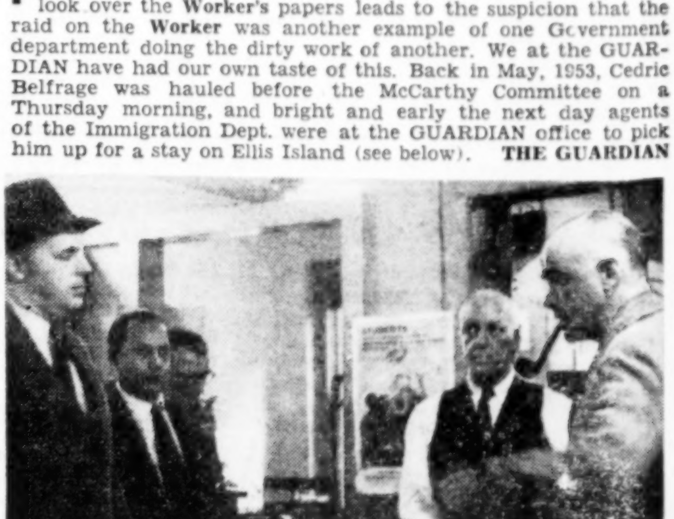
THE WASHINGTON **Post** raised the question of

> ". . . how the precedent set in the case of the **Daily Worker** is likely to affect other publications that are also published under deficits made up by endowments or tax-exempt foundations or by contributions solicited from well-wishers.
> "Most of the weekly or bi-weekly 'journals of opinion' fall into this category; so do such party publications as the **Democratic Digest.**"

The **Post** might have gone on to mention practically every religious or scientific publication in the country, almost all of whom operate on gifts from "associates," ets.

By grit and the help of neighbors, the **Worker** managed to stay in publication despite the seizure of its equipment—mainly a battered collection of typewriters, old desks and file cases plus a safe with $48 in it. At our press time this week it was still fighting in the courts to release its assets from the grip of the Internal Revenue Dept. We hope it will stay in publication for many a long year, and that its courageous fight against the raiders will bring in a flood of new readers.

INTERNAL REVENUE'S DENIAL that it had let the FBI in to look over the **Worker's** papers leads to the suspicion that the raid on the **Worker** was another example of one Government department doing the dirty work of another. We at the GUARDIAN have had our own taste of this. Back in May, 1953, Cedric Belfrage was hauled before the McCarthy Committee on a Thursday morning, and bright and early the next day agents of the Immigration Dept. were at the GUARDIAN office to pick him up for a stay on Ellis Island (see below). **THE GUARDIAN**



A NATION AT THE CROSSROADS

France weighs its role in Middle East crisis; people in a tense mood

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THE THAWING of long-frozen Cold War positions here in W. Europe is proceeding alongside—and despite—the intensification of France's undeclared war in Algeria and accelerated moves directed toward Anglo-American military intervention in the Middle East. This thawing of the new French diplomacy, initiated by Foreign Minister Pineau, now has the wholehearted support of both of the Socialist Party and the Republican Front government. Its importance has been underlined by:

- The continued alarm professed by France's allies over what is satirically termed here its "crime of lese-Atlantisme." ("The tactics adopted by Premier Mollet and Pineau of prodding and coaxing France's allies into a policy of co-existence with Communism," complained London's **Sunday Observer** 3/25, "have compelled the allies to look afresh into the whole problem of their relations with the Communist half of the world.")
- The lively reaction produced here by Pineau's New Delhi and Cairo talks (particularly his warm reception in India) and his forthcoming visits to Syria, Lebanon, and Israel.
- The growing discussion—joined by more and more deputies and ministers—of the question: Should France's foreign policy be revised?

WHAT THE PEOPLE THINK: Pineau's goal—to put France in a position to speak equal-to-equal within the Western alliance—involves (as the GUARDIAN pointed out 3/26) neither a rupture with that alliance nor "neutralism," but rather an attempt to introduce into the alliance a note of realism. In Pineau's view (as developed in several recent statements and interviews) this means recognizing what people think of Western policy.

"The average French elector—I realized this during the electoral campaign—is convinced," Pineau said recently, "that the Russians have made a great effort at rapproachement and that we have made none." Hence his emphasis on expanding East-West contacts; his renewal of the French disarmament initiative; the careful preparation by French Ambassador Joxe in Moscow for the coming Mollet-Pineau visit to the U. S. S. R.; and his insistence that the West should stop rejecting all Soviet proposals to relax tension.

THE THIRD BLOC: The West, in his view, must also recognize that the hard and fast two-bloc division of the world has been broken up by the

Herblock in Washington Post
"How do you think it looks from over there?"

CHRISTIAN PINEAU
A new initiative

emergence of a third bloc embracing less industrialized nations in Asia, the Middle East, Europe and even Latin America. Pineau's efforts to establish France's own peculiar relations with these countries ("I was moved," he told Parliament, "to realize that India counts on France as a mediator between it and the West") suggest a belief that France may find a special role in co-operating with these second-rank powers.

This perspective is also apparent in his plan to ask the U. S. S. R. to join in a common scheme for aid to underdeveloped countries (presumably through the UN); and in his original statement before Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission that his proposals for three-power talks on the Middle East did not exclude the possibility of broadening such a conference to include "other states."

ANTI-FRENCH CAMPAIGN: French undermining of Britain's anti-Nasser campaign, which is being compared to the campaign against Iran's Mossadegh just before he was overthrown, accounts for the new British displeasure with France's Socialist-led government. Among these are officially inspired news reports suggesting that Britain no longer has faith in the French Government because it is supposedly heading for a Popular Front. The British campaign against the French government appears currently to be second only to its campaign against Egypt's government.

Britain apparently has had more success in winning U. S. backing for its get-tough-with-Nasser strategy. This, as the British press almost openly reveals, involves maintaining tensions which may lead to resumption of the Arab-Israeli war—and Western intervention.

President Eisenhower's recent letter to Israel's Premier Ben Gurion, read within the context of the warlike atmosphere in the Middle East, is interpreted here as encouraging the less moderate elements in Israel.

THE PROSPECT: Washington's call for UN consideration of the problem, and its proposal for a Middle East mission by the UN Secretary General are viewed rather cynically here. They are seen as attempts to give a respectable look to Anglo-American intervention, which seems scheduled to follow anticipated failure of UN efforts. The French, however, are also aware of Washington's election year hesitancy, and the path of Anglo-American strategy is not expected to be smooth.

As things stand now, France is opposed to this policy which would, if France were a party to it, completely compromise the "pacifying role" Pineau has claimed for it in the Middle East. But this continued resistance is contingent on the French government's will and ability to find a peaceful and democratic solution in Algeria. The question of whether such a solution would be found was still unanswered as Parliament recessed for its three-week Easter vacation; and tension has mounted both in Parliament and throughout the country.

THE PEOPLE'S MOOD: In Paris market places the talk is all of the call-up: "Has your man been called?" "Mine is going." In elegant bars and in shabby bistros, bitter pleasantries are exchanged: "When are you leaving for the N. African sunshine?" Politicians, intellectuals and "ces bicots" (racist term used of Algerians) are the objects of unprintable oaths. Films showing atrocities in N. Africa and appealing to French "honor" provoke an uneasy reaction, whistles, applause, even fist fights. Committees, each more patriotic than the next, are springing up in towns and villages. The noisiest people are those demanding war to "save" Algeria.

There can be no question, however, that the great majority want peace. Deputations to Parliament demanding peace doubled or tripled in the days before its adjournment. Committees embracing Communists, Socialists, Radicals and others are multiplying. In some cities these united committees have frustrated plans for poujadist demonstrations. Resistance by troops being sent to N. Africa has become almost routine. Sitdown strikes by soldiers take place in railroad stations; in Rouen protesting troops locked themselves in barracks for 24 hours; at Lyon all got out of a troop train and "took a walk" for 12 hours.

BIG SMEAR JOB: The partisans of war are active too. Rightist crusaders storm the country over weekends demanding a "strong" policy in Algeria and at home (suppression of democracy). The notorious "leaks" trial, which has become top news in the last

See Kumar Goshal article on Middle East background on Page 4

15 days, aims at smearing all whose names are associated with peace in Indo-China and in Algeria. The reactionary press devotes its front pages to blackening them and their cause.

The MRP (Catholic Center party of Bidault) has now come out against negotiations in Algeria and Pineau's initiative. Its aim is to break the left majority which, on many key issues, has been reconstituted since the Jan. 2 elections.

The Communist policy of "refusing to provoke a split of the united peace front on any single issue" has made the MRP's position desperate. (Bidault said recently: "The Cross shall crush the Crescent.") The MRP is feverishly working for a political regrouping of which it would be the axis, with the Socialists as its hostage.

DIVISION AT THE TOP: Within the Republican Front government there is growing division. Mendes-France dislikes the almost exclusively military orientation of the government's policy in Algeria and its lack of a political policy. He also professes to fear the inflationary results of the government's recently approved old age fund. Socialists themselves are divided. Some complain: "The right is content to have us do its dirty work."

On two key issues confronting it—the fate of some 261 or more Algerian prisoners condemned to death, and the demand for calling up 100,000 reserves—the government has thus far hesitated. Execution of the prisoners, as demanded by the "ultras," would almost surely end the possibility of negotiating a solution in Algeria. Call-up of the reserves would tend to have the same effect. The government's action on the two issues which cannot be postponed indefinitely, will be an index of its future course.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Administration's stalling delays action on bills

THE JUSTICE DEPT. on March 28 called off sessions at which it had promised to present to Congress the Administration's civil rights compromise proposals. Rep. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), co-chairman of an informal six-member House committee urging early action, said the proposals had first been expected March 1. He could give no reason for the cancellation. His co-chairman, Rep. Edna F. Kelly (D-N.Y.), had criticized the Administration's previous delays. The Justice Dept. reportedly was making last-minute changes in the language of the recommendations.

They go somewhat further than those made by the President when Congress convened. He then recommended that a commission be set up to examine all charges of denial of civil rights. Sen. Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) called the request "cheap politics at its worst [and] part of a campaign to vilify the South." Rep. Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.) said Eisenhower was merely "passing the buck."

The President on March 31, in a letter to Fla. Gov. Leroy Collins, said he was "still hopeful that Congress would adopt his proposals. If it did not, he said, he would consider Collins' suggestion to call a conference of governors.

The Administration also suggested a special division in the Justice Dept. to consider all civil rights questions; legislation authorizing any citizen to sue in Federal courts any person or organization that denied or tried to deny the right of suffrage in any state.

CELLER BILLS VOTED OUT: Meanwhile on March 28 an anti-lynching bill and an omnibus civil rights measure were approved 5-1 by a House Judiciary subcommittee of which Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D-Mass.) is chairman. Both bills were introduced by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the full Judiciary Committee. The lone opponent was Rep. E. L. Forester (D-Ga.) who as a trial judge sentenced Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-aged sons to death in 1948 on a charge of killing a white man who had attacked the Negro woman. The sentence was later commuted to life.

The two bills embody the three main features of the Justice Dept.'s proposals but go much further. The group of Representatives pressing for civil rights legislation at this session plans to file a discharge petition as soon as the full committee acts on the two bills.

Last weekend the Administration delays came in for sharp criticism from Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and Sen. Thomas Hennings (D-Mo.).

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THE POWER AND THE SPOILS

Background of the Middle East crisis

By Kumar Goshal

THE TURMOIL in the Middle East, which seems to be reaching the critical stage as tension mounts and jockeying for power continues unabated, was made inevitable by the struggle for oil and territorial division which began after World War I.

Even before the war the European powers licked their chops in anticipation of the collapse of the Turkish empire. In 1913 Russian Premier Sazanov wrote Czar Nicholas:

> "All the great powers without exception . . . are even now occupied in consolidating the base of their political pretensions in the future division of Asia Minor."

To gain war allies Britain made reckless promises it had no intention of fulfilling. It promised both Sherif Hussein of Mecca and Emir Ibn Saud of Nejd sovereignty over the Arab world, told Lord Rothschild it favored "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

DIVISION OF SPOILS: When the war ended, Britain and France collided over the spoils, eventually settled the territorial division between themselves. Britain, with Egypt, Iran and Cyprus already in its pocket, took Iraq, Jordan and Palestine. France took Syria and Lebanon. Ibn Saud foiled British attempts to grab Arabia by knocking a British plant off the throne and taking over and renaming the territory Saudi Arabia to emphasize his own possession.

Ever since then throughout the Middle East nationalist uprisings, opposition to foreign control of oil and to feudal rulers fattening on oil royalties have been endemic. Time and again Britain and France have had to use violent means, including aerial bombing, to maintain their control.

Bidstrup in Land og Folk, Copenhagen

"It's only Mr. Dulles checking on our weather . . ."

Britain also reneged on its promise to the Jewish people, drastically restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, linked Palestine to its Gibraltar-Cyprus-Jordan-Iraq-Suez-Aden chain of bases to preserve the lifeline of the empire. Britain even diverted from Palestine's shores to concentration camps on Cyprus desperate refugees from Hitler's terror; it remained unmoved when one shipload of refugees committed mass suicide by blowing up their ship in despair rather than go to another concentration camp.

Drawing by Dyad, London

"Please, teacher, Alfie's written a 'terrorist' word on the board."

BRITISH DECLINE: During the same period Britain tried to elbow France out of the Middle East as the U.S. tried to gain a dominant position. During World War II Britain promoted the "independence" of Syria and Lebanon, ousted France, but failed to gain control itself. London was unable to comprehend the rising tide of independence.

After World War II the U.S. expanded its influence over Turkey and Iran (helping to overthrow the Mossadegh regime). It tried but failed to penetrate Egypt by encouraging Egyptian forces seeking to oust their playboy king and the British from Suez. London tried to shore up its deteriorating position by eagerly clutching at the Washington-inspired METO, which turned out to be a weak reed indeed.

After World War II the Jewish people, through their own valiant efforts, UN intercession and world-wide sympathy for their plight, established the state of Israel, but incurred increasing hostility in the Arab world.

SOURCE OF CONFLICT: The Israeli-Arab conflict stems from several sources: (1) continuation of the West's traditional policy of "divide and rule" to retain control over territories with profitable oil investments; (2) the "strange reverence for Middle East royalty," as the London **News Chronicle** put it, that impels Western governments "to shore up . . . shaky thrones" instead of coming "to terms with the people"; (3) the desire of rulers on shaky thrones to prolong their profitable tenure by diverting the people's discontent to irrelevant channels; (4) Washington's efforts to secure the largest number of military allies to ring the U.S.S.R. with bases.

When Jewish immigration to Palestine began at the end of World War I, progressives hoped — and London feared — that Jews returning to their Asian homeland with the concepts of freedom and democracy would be an inspiration to the downtrodden Arab people.

Although progressive Israel has continuously shown its sympathy for the freedom struggle of the Arabs, the dominant group in the Israeli government has increasingly veered to the side of the Western powers. This made it easier for the oil profiteers and the feudal Arab rulers to divert Arab discontent towards Israel.

WHAT SOLUTION? It is conceivable that a neutral Israel in the Cold War might have blunted Arab hostility, and activity in Israel toward that end has never ceased. Last month the left-wing of the five-party Israeli government coalition urged "abandonment of traitional Western orientation and an alignment with the neutralist Asian powers" (N.Y. **Times**, 3/2).

A conference among the U.S., France, Britain and the Soviet Union seems to be the minimum condition necessary for easing the critical situation in the Middle East, especially since the Soviet Union's entry in the Middle East is being increasingly felt.

In the long run, harmony will prevail in the Middle East only when Israelis and Arabs are able to live side by side as Asians, sharing common aspirations, free from external pressures and commitments.

CORRECTION

In Shirley Graham's review of Samuel Sillen's **Women Against Slavery** (GUARDIAN, 4/2), one sentence read: "On the other hand there is abundant evidence that this generation of women in the U.S. comprises the most comfortable women in the world." The word "comfortable" should have read "contented."

NORTHERN OCTOPUS

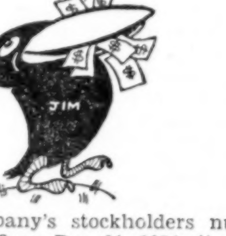
Guess who owns the boycotted buses in Montgomery, Ala.?

FOR MORE THAN 20 weeks the management of the City Lines bus company of Montgomery, Ala., has sided with city officials against 50,000 Negro citizens of that city. Lined up with the mayor, the city commission and the police, the company has rebuffed Negroes' plea for a first-come, first-served seating arrangement on the jimcrow buses, common courtesy for Negro riders and the hiring of Negro drivers for predominantly Negro routes.

What kind of company is it that can keep on losing $3,500 daily for 140 days, with no end in sight?

The answer is that this is no local company, but a subsidiary of the Natl. City Lines, incorporated in Delaware in 1936, with headquarters at 116 S. Michigan Av., Chicago. The Northern-directed octopus—still growing—has fattened on jimcrowed Negroes' fares in Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Oklahoma and Texas. It operates buses or has large investments also in California, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah and Washington.

4,250,000 RIDERS: It has become in 20 years a holding company whose principal assets, says Moody's authoritative **Transportation Manual** (1955), consists of "securities of companies which own or operate motor bus and street car lines over separate systems" serving 4,250,000 riders. In 1954, with 1,412,063 outstanding shares valued at $1 each, the corporation paid a dividend of $2.76 on each share. In 1954 it operated its 1,890 motor coaches and 20 street cars over 60,111,209 revenue miles (47c per mile). Its net income was $3,896,246.



The company's stockholders numbered 544,513 on Dec. 31, 1954; it employs 3,481 persons. N.C.L. owns another line in Mobile, Ala., where the company has always done what its Montgomery management declares state law prohibits: it operates its jimcrow buses on a first-come, first-served basis.

Natl. City Lines president E. Roy Fitzgerald of Chicago is also board chairman of the St. Louis Public Service Co. and a director of lines in many other cities.

THE DIRECTORS: Natl. City Lines director Laurence M. Marks heads his own Wall St. house, and is a former governor of the N.Y. Stock Exchange. He is a trustee of the $250 million Brooklyn Savings Bank and a director of Shamrock Oil & Gas. N.C.L. director C. Frank Reaves is on the board of Baltimore and Philadelphia transit companies, Northwest Airlines and the Bohack grocery chain.

N.C.L. directors David R. Calhoun and John L. Wilson, who also direct the St. Louis Public Service Co., live in that city. Calhoun is president of the service company and has fingers in 18 other pies, including the Budweiser and Pullman companies. Wilson, a director of the 8,000,000-barrel-a-year Anheuser-Busch brewery, is on the board of St. Louis' First Natl. Bank.

Most of the money which keeps the Montgomery lines limping is said to come from St. Louis, where the octopus rakes in fares from that city on one side of the Mississippi and from E. St. Louis on the other side.

THE NEWEST INVASION

35 musicians face witch-hunt in L.A.; union seen target of Un-AAC probe

ALL of progressive Los Angeles last week was girding to head off, if possible, another invasion of their city by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Thirty-five musicians, all of them members of Local 47 of the American Fedn. of Musicians, are under subpena for hearings scheduled to begin April 16. The union, with 16,000 members, is the sole target of the committee on this trip.

Larger quarters, or a little psychiatry?

WASHINGTON, March 20 (UP)—In the small and jam-packed House Foreign Affairs Committee room today, Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R-Calif.) remarked plaintively:

"Mr. Chairman, could we not have larger quarters for this important hearing (on foreign aid)? Twice I've reached for my handkerchief, and twice I have picked the pocket of Congressman Lecompte."

—People's World, March 21.

All of those subpenaed have been active trade unionists and several were leaders in a recently-successful move to integrate Negro and white musicians into one local. Local 47 is now the second largest in the AFM.

At least four of those subpenaed are members of the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra and it is feared they will be denied the right to leave with the orchestra on the 20th of this month for the start of a series of cultural exchange world tours. Others on the committee's list are under contract with major movie studios and several are music teachers.

INTRA-UNION FIGHT: The hearing coincides with a bitter internal union factional dispute with one group in conflict with forces backed by AFM chief James C. Petrillo. The Un-Americans' arrival is timed almost exactly with that of a Petrillo-appointed committee to investigate the union dispute, which is being waged over the operation of the local's Music Performance Trust Fund.

Rev. A. A. Heist, chairman of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, in wires to investigating committee members cited a recent opinion of Chief Justice Earl Warren emphasizing the limitations on Congressional investigatory powers. He said:

> "In view of this verdict . . . the Citizens Committee demands that our elected representatives cease to defy the mandate of the Supreme Court, and set a fitting example of respect for its opinion by cancelling all the subpenas and calling off the hearings. . . ."

The Los Angeles hearings will be conducted by Rep. Clyde Doyle (D) accompanied by Rep. Donald Jackson (R), both Southern Californians and both up for reelection this year.

NORTH CAROLINA HEARING: Most recent foray of the House Committee was into Charlotte, N.C., where last month it ran into a stone wall of "unfriendly" witnesses. The 11 called (all named by three men claiming to have been FBI undercover agents) refused to answer questions. All those who were employed lost their jobs.

A startling highlight of that hearing was the admission of committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) that he had had the witness table wired to record the conversations between witnesses and their attorneys.

"TIME FOR A STIFF DOSE OF DEMOCRACY"

Britain's CP takes a long hard look

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

BY THE TIME this is published the first convention of a Western Communist Party since Moscow's dramatic "re-evaluation" will have been held. Since the GUARDIAN exchequer does not permit cabling, a report on the British CP's 24th congress must wait a week, but these notes on the atmosphere in which it's being held may help set the stage. That it will be watched with acute interest by all Western progressives goes without saying.

On the eve of the congress, **Pravda** published its long article warning against "extremes and haste" in eliminating the heritage of the Stalin cult, but flatly admitting that it has been responsible for "many monstrous phenomena." The "cult of the individual" has, says **Pravda,** left to be cleaned up "quite a few toadies and sycophants, people who are accustomed to making speeches written by others, people who are brought up in a spirit of servility and subservience."

These are strong words coming from the paper which, as none will deny, has always been taken as gospel by Communists everywhere. They refer specifically, of course, to Soviet officials who let Stalin do all their thinking for them; but Communists in other countries cannot avoid the implied rebuke to them.

HARSH QUESTIONS: Judging from the pre-congress letters in the London **Daily Worker,** most of them profoundly critical and disturbed, the prevailing sentiment among British Communists is that their party and its leaders face the biggest challenge ever. A lot of explaining and some very painful self-examination have got to be done. If it is done quickly and thoroughly, tremendous new possibilities are at hand. These are some Worker readers' comments:

- "[The] spirit of intense suspicion for any deviation from a rigid orthodoxy . . . has done so much to seal off the Soviet Union . . . and has given rise to understandable hostility . . . in the West. We see welcome signs of this breaking down in the Soviet Union; but what about ourselves? The same dogmatism, the same suspicion, the same contempt for all 'bourgeois' ideas . . . has aroused antagonism and hostility to Marxism, and deservedly."

Lancaster, Daily Express, London

"Well, I do hope for their sake that the Russians have better luck with collective leadership than the Tories have!"

- "How was it possible for such a state of affairs to arise in such a Party? Is it that the Party system of 'Democratic Centralism' is at fault? Does it carry the danger of too much centralism?"
- "This sudden rash of criticism amazes me—where was it all hidden before? All the 'discussions' I've attended in the last 15 years and never a dissenting voice did I hear—why? Not because we were frightened to say what we thought, but because we lacked confidence in ourselves."

The "rash criticism" of the CP by its own members is being reprinted in capitalist papers as a basis for editorial gibes, and the anti-communist Left is graciously supplying the coffin to bury the CP ("never in its chequered history nearer to complete demoralization," says ex-MP Michael Foot in the Bevanite **Tribune**). The gibes are rather heavy-handed, the funeral premature, because real self-criticism—however long overdue—is a sign of political health notably absent in the major political parties.

PROBLEMS AHEAD: The key problem facing Communists is how by curing their own dogmatism to allay Labour Party suspicion and make possible a united fight against Tory attacks on living standards. Even the **Times** admits that the "new and more conciliatory approach of the Soviet Union has produced a climate in which it is easier for Communists to induce others to work with them." But it is a very big problem, not only on the level of basic psychological attitudes but on that of political tactics. The CP's policy is still to run hundreds of candidates against Labour in local elections. Party secy. Pollitt declares "readiness at all times to discuss the splitting of the working-class vote," but the CP vote is too small to make advances likely from the leadership of the Labour Party.

Yet active Labourites well know the value of Communists and those in the CP orbit at election time, and are distressed by the lack of militancy and democracy in their own backyard. They will not be much inclined to join in the gibes against Communist confessions of error if these are followed by a re-birth of democracy in the CP. There are no dividends in throwing rocks at the CP when the Labour Party—at a time of brewing crisis and unprecedented opportunities for the working-class—lives in a house so patently made of glass.

TIME FOR DEMOCRACY: The Labourite **Daily Mirror** sneers editorially at the CP's examination of the errors resulting from the "cult of the individual," and devotes its entire front page to a story and picture of one Princess Alexandra taking a sixpenny ride on a bus. Scottish Labourites inclined to scoff at the CP find the words sticking in their throats after this month's conference of their party. At that conference the 300 delegates were not allowed to discuss foreign policy, disarmament, the H-bomb or socialist policy in general because, they were told, these issues had been democratically decided at the party conference in Margate last fall. (At Margate few resolutions got more than a pretense of floor discussion and almost all got the "block-vote" treatment, making massive victory for the party hierarchy a foregone conclusion.) They heard a speech from party leader Gaitskell but were not allowed to discuss what he said. They heard nothing and could say nothing about the party's "three-year plan for Britain" which, it is rumored, will be ready in 1958.

The CP four-day congress allows seven hours for discussion of Pollitt's political report. This is probably less than many delegates would like, but it is an improvement on past CP performance. As Michael Foot confesses in blasting the CP, "the weight of bureaucracy lies heavy on our own [Labour] institutions." Whatever emerges from it, the CP congress will certainly not be another apathetic Margate. The great majority in the British Left feel it is time for a good stiff dose of democracy all around.

Herblock in Washington Post

"Just let me catch some soldiers moving in here."

Take your choice

"We do not approve of all your political methods any more than we expect you to approve of all ours. You shatter your political idols; we bury them in the House of Lords."

—**Julius Silverman,** Labour MP, welcoming Malenkov at a House of Commons lunch.

W. E. B. DuBois to speak in San Francisco April 13

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS will speak on the downturn of American schools in an address titled "The Know-Nothings Ride Again" at a mass meeting to be held at 8 p.m. Friday, April 13, at the Hotel Whitcomb, San Francisco. Robert W. Kenny, former attorney general of California, will preside. An impressive musical program will be presented by two choral groups: The American Folk Singers from the Eastbay, and the California Labor School Chorus.

Appearance of the noted Negro author and educator will be part of the defense activities of the Labor School, which is fighting off a McCarran Act attack launched against it by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

"FROM MOTIVES OF HUMANITY AND JUSTICE"

Bertrand Russell on Morton Sobell and the FBI

Following is the full text of a letter written by Lord Bertrand Russell, noted British philosopher, to the Manchester Guardian on the case of Morton Sobell:

I AM WRITING to enlist your support in the case of Morton Sobell, an innocent man condemned as a result of political hysteria to 30 years in gaol and at present incarcerated in Alcatraz, the worst prison in the United States. He was sentenced as an accomplice of the Rosenbergs in espionage. I am ashamed to say that at the time of the Rosenbergs' trial I did not look into the evidence. I have now done so. I am almost certain that the Rosenbergs were innocent and quite certain that the evidence against them would not have been considered adequate if prejudice had not been involved. But the Rosenbergs are dead and nothing can be done for them now except to hold up their official murderers to obloquy. Sobell, however, is alive and it is not too late for the United States Government to make some reparation to him.

The facts in his case are briefly as follows: He had a friend named Elitcher, who had been his best man. Elitcher had stated on oath that he had never been a Communist. The FBI discovered that in making this statement he had committed perjury. They let him know that he could escape punishment if he would denounce other people as accomplices in treasonable activities. He decided to save his own skin by denouncing his best friend, Sobell. While negotiations in this sense were going on between him and the FBI Sobell and his wife and their two small children went to Mexico. Sobell toyed with the idea of not returning to the United States, but rejected it. His decision to return became known to the FBI, which had determined to present him as a fugitive from justice. In order to be still able to present him in this light, they hired thugs, who beat him into unconsciousness, hustled him and his wife and their two children into fast cars, and drove them without stopping from Mexico City to the United States frontier. There they were handed over to an immigration officer, who falsely stamped their card of entry with the words "Deported from Mexico" although the Mexican Government had not been privy to the kidnapping and had expressed no intention of deporting them.

When Sobell was brought to trial these facts were not mentioned as his counsel considered that any criticism of the FBI, however justified, would only increase the severity of his sentence, his condemnation being regarded by his counsel as certain in spite of lack of evidence. The judge instructed the jury that they could not find Sobell guilty unless they believed Elitcher. Elitcher, because he was useful in this trial, has never been indicted for his acknowledged perjury and in spite of his being known to be a perjurer, every word that he said against Sobell was believed.

People express scepticism when it is said that most Germans did not know of Nazi atrocities, but I am sure that the immense majority of Americans are quite ignorant of the atrocities committed by the FBI. They do not know of the standard technique of these defenders of what, with cynical effrontery, they still call "The Free World." The technique is one with which we have been made familiar in other police States such as Nazi Germany and Stalin's Russia. The police find a man whom they can prove to be guilty of some offense and they promise him immunity if he will manufacture evidence against people who could not otherwise be indicted. Perjury is especially useful as a lever because many people who have been Communist in their student days rashly hope that this can be concealed and swear that they never were Communists. After a sufficient number of secret interviews the FBI descends upon innocent people with a posse of terrified perjurors and in the general hysteria every word uttered by the perjurors is accepted as gospel truth.

I do not suppose for a moment that President Eisenhower is aware of this well-established technique. If he knew of it, he would not only feel the revulsion which all decent people must feel, but would realise that every such case which becomes known outside the United States turns hundreds of thousands of people, if not into Communists, at least towards neutralism and away from the policy of NATO. For this large reason of public policy, as well as from motives of humanity and justice, it is to be hoped that something will be done to curb the FBI. A beginning might be made by the release of Morton Sobell or, at least, by ordering a new trial of his case.

BERTRAND RUSSELL

41 Queens Road, Richmond

Surrey, England

REP. CELLER TAKES UP THE CUDGELS

Army keeps on hounding 'Security Risks'

EIGHT GI's FIGHTING the Army's "loyalty" purge were powerfully reinforced last week by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) who has engaged the Defense Dept. in a sharp exchange.

At issue is the Army's practice of inducting young men, then arraigning them on charges of activities, associations, acquaintances dating back long before they were drafted. On testimony of "faceless" informers many soldiers with exemplary service records have been found "security risks" and given less-than-honorable discharges. These stigmatize the veterans, deprive them of all GI school or training benefits, allow them to keep jobs only until the employer asks to see the discharge papers, disqualify them from government employment forever.

With this advance threat the Army censors the activities of every young man who may one day have to face a draft call.

THE ARMY IN COURT: Last October eight GI's brought the commanding general of the First Army into Federal District Court in N.Y. to test the constitutionality of the Army's procedure. The privates, all serving at Ft. Dix, N.J., and all with "excellent" service ratings, are Theodore Bernstein, Stanley Hauser, Bertram Lessuck, David and Jonathan Lubbell, Bernard Radoff, Samuel Suckow and Rudolph Thomas.

In November presiding Judge David Edelstein blistered the Army with a memorandum calling the procedure "a shocking perversion of the elementary canons of due process." He ruled that "an honorable discharge for honorable service encompasses a property right, as well as civil rights and personal honor." Nevertheless the judge declined to enjoin the Army from proceeding with the hearings.

At the same time the Army came under fire from the Senate subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties, whose chairman is Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.). The Army beat a retreat and promised Hennings that thereafter it would investigate before induction and reject all "risks." Defense Secy. Wilson wrote Hennings he was "shocked" at the plight of the Ft. Dix eight, promised again that no soldier would be penalized "for what he did before he came into service."

A NEAT LOOPHOLE: The Army left itself a legal loophole, however, and proceeded to drive through it with its smear-and-blacklist procedure. It agreed that soldiers who served their hitch in the Army would get discharges based solely on their service record, but that rule would not apply to those GI's brought up on "risk" charges and discharged before they had completed the hitch. A man who had one day to go on his two-year induction could be dismissed on security grounds with a type of discharge amounting to a perpetual blacklisting. On Feb. 28 Rep. Celler wrote Secy. Wilson:

> "It appears to me, therefore, that no change whatsoever has taken place. If the Dept. of the Army so wished, it can interrupt the term of duty and base its discharge on pre-induction activities. Why some individuals will be permitted to complete their tours of duty and others will not be so permitted is not explained. A policy such as this is, at best, arbitrary."

"FORM OF ENTRAPMENT": Army general counsel Mansfield D. Sprague told Celler the Army would continue to use pre-induction criteria for men it chooses to discharge before their hitch was up. On March 12 Celler wrote Wilson again:

> "I regret the necessity of using harsh language, but it appears to me that for the Army to induct a young man into service and then charge him with pre-service activities leading to less than an honorable discharge is for the Army to engage in a form of entrapment which must, in your good judgment, certainly be repugnant to the principles of American jurisprudence."

Earlier Rowland Watts, staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, had written to Wilbur Brucker, Secy. of the Army, denouncing the program as an "unwarranted interference with the judicial process" and concluding:

> "I hope that you will put a prompt stop to the ridiculous situation."

The Army showed no signs of stopping and last week began hearings of the eight privates at Ft. Dix. Counsel for the eight, Albert Colloms and Stanley Faulkner, have appealed the case to the Court of Appeals but were unable to win a stay of the hearings pending final adjudication. Under present court rulings the Army can proceed with the hearings, though it cannot grant the less-than-honorable discharges before the court decision is handed down.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has intervened actively in support of the GI's and lent legal assistance in the court tests.

CALIFORNIA CASES: In California the Veterans' Civil Liberties Committee and the Servicemen's Defense Committee of Los Angeles are fighting similar cases of veterans dishonorably discharged after honorable service. Court rulings have been consistently sympathetic to the GI's but rarely have prevented the Army from proceeding.

John H. Harmon, for example, received an undesirable discharge in June, 1954, after 19 months of his hitch. He was charged with working for the Detroit Urban League's Camp Lakeland in 1949, registering American Labor Party in N.Y. in 1951 and writing a letter to raise funds for those convicted under the Smith Act in 1952. Judge Luther Youngdahl of Washington saw possible inequities in the Army methods and said the Supreme Court ought to review the matter, but he ruled that

> ". . . under the present state of the law we lack requisite authority to review, control or compel the granting of particular types of discharge certificates."

MINNEAPOLIS CASE: From Minneapolis a young veteran of the Korean War, Alfred Jensen, last week called for help. He was drafted in 1951, served 17 months of his tour in Korea, was honorably discharged and enrolled in the compulsory enlisted reserve. The Army has informed him that since last May he has been under investigation and charges that since leaving active duty he has "reportedly" attended meetings of the Labor Youth League, American Peace Committee, Progressive Party of Minnesota, Civil Rights Committee, Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. In a public statement Jensen said:

> "I ask, has the Army the right to determine and decide who my associates can or cannot be, what my ideas can or cannot be for the rest of my life?"

The Army threatens to deprive Jensen of his GI benefits and to stigmatize him with a less-than-honorable discharge from the reserve. A group of veterans in Minneapolis has organized to defend Jensen and calls for protests to O. C. Finnigan, Military HQ 1006 West Lake St., Minneapolis, Minn. Funds for the Jensen defense may be sent to James Brown, acting secy. of the "Defend Veterans' Constitutional Rights Committee," 2820 E. 25 St., Minneapolis.

DID ANYONE ASK IF THE DEAD BOY WAS A SECURITY RISK?
A GI weeps on the shoulder of another soldier. He had just seen his buddy killed in action in Korea.

Judge O'Brien to speak at Nowak birthday banquet

JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN, former Attorney General of Michigan, will speak at a banquet celebrating former State Sen. Stanley Nowak's 53d birthday Sun., April 15, at 5 p.m., at the Midland Pioneers Union Hall, Local 410 UAW, 7834 Mt. Elliot, Detroit.

A noted liberal and friend of labor, Judge O'Brien was recently awarded the Franklin D. Roosevelt Award by the Natl. Lawyers Guild. His 87th birthday celebration at the Hotel Statler was attended by more than 800 admirers.

The banquet will also commemorate Nowak's 25th anniversary in the labor movement of Michigan. The anti-labor character of the attack on his citizenship under the Walter-McCarran Law will be discussed by prominent labor spokesmen.

Tickets, at $2.50 each, are available from the Stanley Nowak Banquet Committee, 7525 Wykes, Detroit 10, Mich., phone TE 4-0073.

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BEGINNING JULY 1

Every applicant for passport must answer 'red' query

FROM GOVERNMENT presses last week came new passport application forms with a built-in trap for every U.S. citizen who wants to travel. The new forms require every applicant to say whether or not he is or has ever been a member of the Communist Party and if so, when. They will be issued when the present supply of application blanks run out about July 1.

Current policy is to avoid political questions to applicants except those the Passport Divn. of the State Dept. considers "under suspicion." These are now required to sign special non-communist affidavits. After July 1 the "under suspicion" treatment will be accorded all applicants, some 3,000 a day, who will have to answer the questions or stay home.

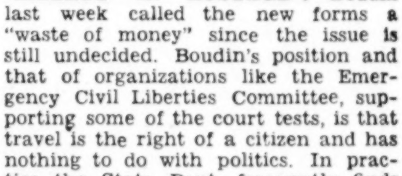
ISSUE STILL PENDING: Attorney Leonard Boudin, who has argued against the denial of passports in a number of cases (he himself has been denied one), told the GUARDIAN last week that the State Dept. seemed to be "jumping the gun" in a matter still being tested in the courts.

There has never been a final ruling on the right of the State Dept. to refuse a passport to citizens because of their politics. The case of Paul Robeson, who has refused to sign an affidavit and is kept from a public clamoring for him in Europe, Asia and Africa, was argued before the Court of Appeals by Mr. Boudin on March 8. The court still has the case under advisement. Last week Federal Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy upheld the right of the State Dept. to require affidavits from artist Rockwell Kent and psychiatrist Dr. Walter Briehl. Those cases are headed for appeal next week.

The whole fight for the right to travel, once accepted as inalienable for all, is certain to be carried to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary.

"LIBERTY IN HOSTAGE": Boudin last week called the new forms a "waste of money" since the issue is still undecided. Boudin's position and that of organizations like the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, supporting some of the court tests, is that travel is the right of a citizen and has nothing to do with politics. In practice the State Dept. frequently finds even a signed affidavit insufficient but requires further evidence of "good faith." Boudin has argued that

> ". . . the oath is not only a method of denying a passport to those who refuse to take it. It is also a device



> to hold in hostage an applicant's liberty, under the possibility of perjury prosecution, as a condition of a passport grant."

I. F. Stone's **Weekly** (3/19) cited the perjury prosecution of Ben Gold after he signed a Taft-Hartley oath of non-communism. The "proof" of Gold's continued CP affiliation and the basis for his perjury conviction was that his name was mentioned six times in the **Daily Worker** without abuse, he marched with his Fur Workers Union in two May Day parades and helped defend his fellow union official Irving Potash in a Smith Act trial.

The use of the new forms would put every applicant in danger of similar perjury convictions on similar evidence and can therefore curtail the freedom of political action and association for millions. The Robeson case will probably be the first to get a definitive ruling from the courts. On that ruling depends not only Robeson's freedom to travel but the durability of the whole passport curtain.

THE MANIFESTO OF RETREAT BELONGS TO THE PAST

A reply to William Faulkner's 'thinking with the blood'

By Mike Gold

WILLIAM FAULKNER has published a strange manifesto of retreat in a recent issue of **Life.** It is like a queer, hopeless letter from a suicide. "I was formerly against segregation," he writes. "Now I am just as strongly against compulsory integration."

He and others, he says, had occupied a middle ground, but "where will we go now if that middle becomes untenable?" He would be forced "to become a segment of that white embattled minority who are our blood and kin," since now they would have become the "underdog," and the Negro the new "topdog!"

This surely is thinking with the blood, not with the heart or mind, the sort of "thinking" that loomed large in Nazi ideology, and has long kept the South in pauperism.

WHAT HE'S TELLING US: How painful that a writer of Faulkner's great stature should so easily desert reason and be ready to accept the leadership of Kluxers and Dixiecrats, the vile Eastlands and Milams! For that is what he is telling us, this strong, honorable artist, the Southern man who had hungered and groped for justice and understanding! Are these really his kinfolk, these haters of culture, and torturers and killers of little boys? They would burn his books, if they had their way. They would burn him too. He can never fit into their totalitarian system of organized cruelty and ignorance. Faulkner was never a Nazi.

But here is the crisis at last in Negro-white relationships, and he can't face it, evidently. It isn't easy to face. Only after a soul struggle does any white Southern intellectual join the 20th century. Feudal dogmas weigh him down as they do a Bedouin Arab, a clerical-fascist Irishman, or an extremist-orthodox Jew. He had grown up, too, biologically conditioned by a group fixation that the Negro is inferior, the Negro is his born servant. He can feel tenderly toward the Negro servant, but the Negro who rejects that historic status and demands his full humanity wounds the fixated white to the core. It is a great shock; the foundations of his psychology seem to be crashing.

BACK TO THE CLAN: Yet Faulkner had wrestled with his split Southern soul. He had broken through in some of his books, and when he also spoke for Willie McGee, that tragic victim of Southern hate. Faulkner also denounced the rat-like killers of Emmett Till, and his latest novel, **A Fable,** is a new departure, a powerful parable against war, a parable of the peasant and worker Christs crucified in capitalist wars for profit.

It looked as though in Faulkner the Southern people were finding a strong new voice in a time of the agony of change. Now he may be going back to the clan and the blood-thinking. In a recent **Reporter** interview he was quoted as saying that even if the Negroes were morally right on segregation, if the government stepped in he would "fight for Mississippi against the United States even if it meant going out into the streets and shooting Negroes."

This may be a crude misquotation, yet the **Life** article contained some of the same Dixiecrat argument for state's rights. It is the familiar old evasion of the slaveowners of 1861, who couldn't face the ugly fact that they were fighting to preserve a slave system. They, too, built up a state's rights mythology to conceal the reality from even themselves.. They pictured the fight, like Dixiecrats today, as a holy war for people's freedom against a brutal dictatorship. This is just demagogy.

IT'S NO WATER TAP: "Stop now for a time," Faulkner demands of the North in his **Life** article. Wait, delay the movement. The implication is that that movement can be turned on and off like an electric lamp, or a water tap. It's made to sound like a palace conspiracy, a plot by a few envenomed leaders. Henry Luce and his cabal of fellow-millionaires and their hired segments of intellectual castrates, often explain in the same manner those vast movements and upheavals of history, outcome of a long evolution, that are now changing China, Russia, and more than a third of man's world. All this is made out as the plot of a few discontented bums in a Hollywood cellar. It would all stop if they could be bribed or stopped.

But what we are beholding is a new stage of American history, the rolling tide of a new consciousness among Negroes. The Negro is no longer a plantation serf; a majority of the Negroes now live in cities, where it is harder to isolate them, to crush them with naked force. The Negro has developed a big working class in the industries who are entering the trade unions en masse. This means a new way of thinking. The Negroes have developed an educated, ambitious middle class. And how many thousands of white Americans have learned to venerate and love such giants as George Washington Carver, W. E. B. DuBois, or Paul Robeson! Such noble figures have lent a new spiritual glory in the eyes of the world to the nation that so long has kept them in Jim Crow.

YOU CAN'T HALT HISTORY: Can any leader order the Negro people to stop producing such majestic figures of light and moral beauty? That is really what Faulkner is asking of them—to halt their history. Can anyone advise Negro writers like Langston Hughes, Lloyd Brown and John Killens—men of deep indignation and love and artistic powers—to stop making literature about their kinfolk? All such requests are as futile as to ask the Negro people of Montgomery to stop the mass protest against the Jim Crow buses. They are inspired with a Ghandi-like flame. They are praying. It is the first mass

WILLIAM FAULKNER

Beltran in Excelsior, Mexico City

"They are praying to live together in peace. But they cannot wait."

resistance to jimcrow. They are using passive resistance. They do not hate the whites. They are praying to live together in peace. But they can no longer wait. They will not.

I should like to point out another aspect of the crisis, which Faulkner and so many others seem to ignore. This is the role of the Wall Street monopolies. They own the South. They are internal imperialists, and the South is their exploited colony.

THE SUPER-OCTOPUS: Take Faulkner's own state of Mississippi. Its Jim Crow politics, education and wage system are completely dominated by a giant utility, the Mississippi Power and Light Corp., according to the report of the Senate Committee that recently investigated the crooked Dixon-Yates Power contracts.

This public utility in Faulkner's state keeps 20 of the state's leading lawyers (they are also politicians, no doubt) on a fat monthly retainer. The corporation controls the racist newspapers, radio and TV stations in Jackson, the capital, thus influencing every Mississippi mind. The company spends over a third of its total operating expenses on this outlay for corruption, the Senate Committee discovered.

But a super-octopus of the North, the Electric Bond & Share Corp. of New York, owns this Mississippi octopus, the committee also found. One Southern official testified that the Northern satraps "did everything around the place but lick the stamps." They used Southerners only as their stooges, their working front. So much for kinfolk!

The textile industry of the South, the great petroleum industry and the oil fields, the steel plants, the auto plants, the great chemical industry, nearly every bit of southern production and the natural resources of the South are almost entirely owned by northern monopoly capital. The South is another Puerto Rico.

THE POWER THAT PAYS: Even the agriculture has been largely taken over. Metropolitan Life, that eleven billion dollar octopus, with the biggest assets in America, now has heavy investments in Southern plantations. Wall Street controls the price of the fertilizer every little sharecropper must buy, and fixes the prices in tobacco, and in cotton and other agricultural fields.

And it is they who preserve jimcrow. They have the power to stop it, but it pays. They came into the South, as the British once entered India, and exploited the native prejudices for their own profit. Divide and rule!

The lowest wages in America are found in the South. This is the famous "southern differential." A recent bulletin of the Labor Research Assn. estimates that A. T. & T., the octopus that owns all the telephone lines in America including Southern Bell and the phones of the South, makes a million dollars a week out of the differential. They pay Southern workers 30% less for the same work done by their employees in the North. The Northern unions are compelled from self-interest to lift the standards of life in the South.

OLD, SICK TRAGEDY: Is Faulkner against higher wages for his kinfolk, the good food and shelter, the music and books and happy children, the better schools, that higher wages would mean? Does he really want to preserve that old, sick, mean pessimist tragedy of Southern life, that he has chronicled with so much poetic realism in his bitter tales?

Take the poll tax situation. It deprives more white Southerners of their votes than it does Negroes. Congressmen and Senators from the South are elected, as everyone knows, by a tiny segment of the population. It is a great fraud, and the legislators thus elected become Janissaries of Northern imperialism. These Dixiecrats now form a permanent fascist core in our nation's government.

William Faulkner has spoken some hot and whirling words in this crisis that shakes the South. His mind, his heart and his blood-prejudices are in deadly conflict with each other. One could almost reverse his warning and in turn say to him:

"Stop now. Think. Study. It is not a simple situation, like a dog fight or a vendetta. It is the agonizing birth of a new and better South. The South needs democracy as the parched fields need the healing rain. The Negroes are fighting for democracy. The trade unions are fighting for it. The Eastlands and Milams, the Klan politicos are fighting against it. The Northern monopolies that own the South don't want it.

"Which side can one choose? It seems to me, an outsider, that any Southerner who truly loves his oppressed people must choose the side that will elevate their lives."

Under the dirt and savagery that came with a century of terrible poverty, the Southern folk still retain so much human beauty. They are a people of deep feelings, who want to believe in something good, and are ready to sacrifice themselves for it, if necessary.

THE QUIET ONES CHANGE: If there were no Northern monopolies in the South, and the Southern demagogues they employ, the people would soon forget jimcrow. It is a vileness that has to be constantly stirred up with lies, as Iago poisoned the innocent Othello. In the Autherine Lucy case the white college students showed much good-will. Their elders, the calloused old hack politicians, were the bitter-enders. These problems can be solved. All over the South, in hundreds of communities, there are quiet people who are changing in the new day.

I am willing to prophesy that one of these days the South will be fired by a great revival spirit as it enters modern times. Democracy in the South will be almost a religion. It will pray and fight, sing ballads and dance reels—fathers, mothers, and children. And the Negro will be one of the kinfolk, as by white rape through the years, he actually is. It is coming. Where the greatest struggles rage, look for the birth of human greatness. It doesn't come from the well-fed sophisticates, the well-fed professional pessimists of the bourgeois academies. It will come from necessity and from the dark, deep, blood-stained earth of the people.

William Faulkner should study his people. He knows everything about them except that they have a great, democratic future.

The re-appraisal

(Continued from Page 1)

kovsky on the Party chair warmer:

"To important ranks he rose
"And in his office chair he stuck,
"Sees no further than his nose . . .
"All he does is sit and wait
"For instructions and directions,
"Leaving thinking to the great."

In that context the criticism of one-man dictatorship seemed in order, even though the one man was the late Joseph Stalin. That, too, seemed part of a maturing, confident socialism. But there was also confusion that rose from behind closed doors on the session's last day when Khrushchev reported in de-

Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"Don't let's overdo it, just let's say 'a crazy mixed-up kid.'"

tail on Stalin and the history of the last 20 years. More than a month after that session there was still no definitive version of what was said. There were incredible rumors, "reliable" rumors, confirmed by Communist sources outside the Soviet Union, paraphrases, generalities, summaries, but no statement of charges, no documentation, no evidence.

THE FLOODGATES: Khrushchev was supposed to have talked for three hours and lecturers were touring the Soviet Union, summarizing his remarks as a letter from the Central Committee, but no quotation appeared in any dispatch from the country. The most sober story came from UP's Henry Shapiro (passed by the censor after a delay of 18 hours). In it Shapiro called the development "the Soviet Union's peaceful but powerful fourth revolution." He did not quote Khrushchev's remarks but said that due to the manner in which the story leaked out through the foreign press, it has appeared "in unavoidably exaggerated and distorted form." He said the party lecturers were telling the people: "No more miracle workers, no more sacred cows." Shapiro added:

"Floodgates of discussion and criticism have been opened as never before, so that every Soviet citizen is beginning to enjoy freedom from fear."

Veteran Soviet correspondent Ralph Parker wrote to the GUARDIAN that the Central Committee's letter is "a balanced, impartial and deep analysis" of Stalin's record giving "the positive as well as the negative sides." He reported that before the delegates heard Khrushchev's report they were given copies of Lenin's "testament," dated Dec. 25, 1922, in which Lenin is said to have warned that Stalin "had concentrated enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution."

THE BIG QUESTION: Suggesting the contents of the charges, Parker said the audience could confirm their truth because:

"They had seen their own numbers decimated, the men best qualified to defend the nation against the growing power of nazism stripped of their ranks—if not worse—and the creative forces of the Soviet people stifled by fear. . . . With the terrible lessons of the cult of individual leadership before their eyes—the brain-numbing acquiescence in authority's ukases, the appalling cost in lives and happiness of blunders military, political and diplomatic left uncriticized, the paralyzing of the Party's best cadres—they may be expected to look into their own souls and ask themselves whether they were right to acquiesce, to remain silent and uncritical."

Communist sources indicated that Khrushchev had charged that under Stalin, security agencies had falsely accused and convicted some Soviet citizens, though when or whom or how many was unclear. It was also said that Stalin had endangered the state by ignoring warnings of aggression by Hitler, had made errors in enforcing agricultural collectivization, erred in breaking with Tito on the basis of fabricated evidence. Proof, evidence and explanations remained unknown.

On March 28 an editorial in **Pravda** gave few specifics, but after crediting Stalin with "great services to our party, the working class and to the international labor movement," said:

"He, lacking personal modesty, did not cut short the glorifications and praises addressed to him, but supported and encouraged them in every way. As time went on, this cult of the individual assumed ever more monstrous forms and did serious harm to the cause."

THE CORRECTION: It was hard to analyze a document where so much lay between the lines. But one of Stalin's "errors" was being corrected in a manner that left many gasping. In 1948 the Communist Information Bureau expelled the Yugoslav Communist Party charging that Communists' rights in Yugoslavia "were being trampled upon," that the leaders had instituted "an ignominious, purely despotic terrorist regime," had betrayed the cause of the international working class.

As the break with Tito swelled into a major campaign, the charges grew more specific. In Budapest on Sept. 16, 1949, Laszlo Rajk, former foreign minister of Hungary, and seven others, highly placed Hungarian communists, went on trial, charged with attempting "to overthrow the democratic order of Hungary."

In the presence of 47 reporters from 14 countries, foreign diplomats and observers, Rajk and the others took the stand. They told a seemingly coherent story of a vast conspiracy engineered by Yugoslav officials, involving the bringing in of fascist troops to overthrow the government in Hungary and in other popular democracies, assassinate leaders and install governments amenable to U. S. interests. They traced the plot in detail, citing dates, places, times when the attack was organized. Each confessed his own part openly and at length. Rajk confessed not only to the major charge but told how he had served as a police informer against communists in pre-war Hungary, during the Spanish civil war, and had worked for the Gestapo during the German occupation of Hungary. In the end he agreed he deserved death.

THE CONFESSIONS: He and two others were thereupon hanged; five others were given jail sentences. Stephen White, after covering all sessions of the trial, wrote in the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (8/7/49) from Paris:

"The matter of drugs and torture, for example, can be disposed of at once. Not only is there no physical evidence to show that the eight have been subjected to unusual treatment (at least in the recent past) but there is, in addition, ample evidence to suggest that they have not. . . . Once the idea of drugs and torture is dismissed, it would be impossible to give a rational explanation for confessions which were made by innocent men, and which were tailored out of whole cloth."

Last week Hungarian CP Secy. Matyas Rakosi told a party congress that a review of the Rajk case had "established that the trial had been based on provocation." The reputations of the dead were officially cleared. The living were released from prison. The main defandant in that trial, Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia, was, by implication, absolved. The perplexing thing was that the charges of Yugoslavia's backsliding from socialism had been heavily documented, buttressed with impressive statistics, like the charges against Rajk. The absolution for both came by decree, without explanation. The responsibility, too, was oddly placed on a police offi-

Humanite, Paris

cial, Gabor Peter, since executed. The man clearly on the spot was Rakosi himself. He was a prominent member of the government at the time of the trial, so prominent that he was allegedly marked for assassination by Rajk. Rakosi, it seemed, had his choice of admitting that a police chief had taken in the highest officials of the government with a gigantic frame-up or that he had at least known of the frame-up. In the world-wide question period the N. Y. **Daily Worker** (5/2) said editorially:

"Frankly, this newspaper and people everywhere do not have the facts of how this miscarriage of justice came about. To blame it on just one or two individuals is unworthy. No explanation has been given but the public is entitled to know how so-called "confessions" in open court were rigged. Not one, not some, but all those responsible should be brought before the bar of justice."

THE QUESTIONS: Communist Parties around the world were busily reappraising, frequently accepting the Russian reappraisal; in some places waiting for answers; everywhere listening to the rank-and-file who were speaking up sharply. The British CP entered its annual Congress in the midst of ferment within the party (See Belfrage p. 5) and outside it. Left-wing Labourite Aneurin Bevan foresaw "collective leadership" in the Soviet Union leading to an independent judiciary and greater civil liberties. He went on:

"It could help to bring the internal conditions of Russia nearer to Western conceptions of law and justice and to that extent make more possible the ideal of co-existence. If this is part of the Russian 'plot' then I am all for it."

The London **New Statesman** and **Nation** (4/3) editorialized:

"If a real change has begun in the Communist world—and much remains to be done and undone—Socialists should be the first to respond. For the liberalization of the Soviet regime would do more than anything else to ease the world situation."

The prospect of Socialist-Communist conversations, at least, if not action, cheered **Pravda,** which ran a 7,000 word editorial on the necessity of a common front. It moved the N. Y. **Times** to a grim warning. In an editorial (5/2) the **Times** indicated a posthumous respect for Eugene V. Debs and present-day socialists "however naive their economic views may seem to most of us." The paper warned of associating with "party-line Communists."

THE TEMPTATION: The trend toward unity showed itself throughout Europe where Socialists continued to take a rosy view though many were inclined to say "I told you so" to the Communists. Communists faced a great temptation. To accept the reappraisal as it came from Moscow and Budapest would perhaps win over those Socialists who for decades had attacked "Stalinism."

To go slowly, ask questions, require proof would show more genuine independence. Some Communists indicated the reappraisal ought to be made by all hands in any new alliance for socialism. The **New Statesman and Nation** laid down its requirements:

"Before they [the Communists] can come forward as genuine Socialists, capable of thinking and acting for themselves, they must prove that they have changed their attitude as well as their tactics. They will have a long voyage home."

CP Chairman William Gallacher reminded a cheering Glasgow audience that Communists need not eat a lonely, humble pie all the way home:

"The evil that men do lives after them—the good is oft interred with their bones. When tumult and dust subsides, make no doubt about it, the balance will be heavy on the credit side of Joseph Stalin. . . . The really vile crime of the betrayal of socialism took place here in Britain—by the Right Wing leaders of the Labour Party."

Elbe meeting

ELEVEN YEARS AGO this month—on April 25—Russian and American soldiers met each other face to face at the Elbe River. Germany was cut in two and the end of Hitler was at hand. Since then, the small group of veterans of both sides who were present at that historic event have kept the anniversary alive.

Last year the Americans who were at the Elbe were honored guests in the Soviet Union. This year the American veterans, headed by Joseph Polowsky in Chicago, have invited their Russian counterparts to come here for the 11th reunion. E. Porfiriev, a retired Red Army colonel and chairman of the Soviet committee of the participants of the meeting of the Elbe, has replied that his group accepts the invitation and is ready to send a group of up to seven of the Elbe veterans to the celebration this year in Washington, D. C.

On the night of April 17

This night I hold an old accustomed feast,
Whereto I have invited many a guest,
Such as I love; and you among the store,
One more, most welcome, makes my number more.
—Romeo and Juliet

IT TOOK SOME DOING to get Shakespeare to write the invitation to the GUARDIAN's Spring Festival at Carnegie Hall on Tues., April 17. But when he learned who was going to be there, he quickly agreed and notified us through our private medium that he would be there in spirit.

The GUARDIAN would like its readers and friends to be there in the flesh. A wonderful evening of entertainment is guaranteed. **Paul Draper, Maxine Sullivan and Pete Seeger** will be featured wiith **Earl Robinson and the Brooklyn Youth Chorus,** and those outstanding jazz musicians **Cliff Jackson and Herman Autrey. Lee Hays,** basso profundo of The Weavers, will preside.

There will be no collection and a prize of a pair of solid gold ear plugs is offered to anyone finding a speech-maker in the house.

Tickets range from $2 to $5.00 and are on sale at the Carnegie Hall box office, Standard Brand, 143 4th Av. and the GUARDIAN office, 17 Murray St. For those who prefer to order by mail a coupon is attached to the ad on p. 9.

MEETINGS IN MANY CITIES

5,000 overflow N.Y. 'Deliverance Day'

By Eugene Gordon

IN THE EVENING of March 28, the "Natl. Deliverance Day of Prayer," more than 5,000 Negro worshippers overflowed the main auditorium of New York's Manhattan Center into the New Yorker Hotel's ballroom next door. The Rev. Adam Clayton Powell and assisting religious leaders went back and forth in relays. Though not organized on a nationwide basis, prayer meetings were held in response to a call by Dr. Powell, Democratic congressman from Harlem and pastor of Harlem's Abyssinian Baptist Church—in Atlanta, Baton Rouge, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Columbus, Galveston, Los Angeles and Washington. No special services were held in Montgomery, whose 4-month-old passive resistance movement against jimcrow bus lines inspired the day of prayer. Montgomery Negro churches are used as pickup points for the private cars which have temporarily supplanted buses.

Manhattan Center's "citywide, interracial, interdenominational, interfaith" prayer meeting was sponsored by "the Natl. Deliverance Day of Prayer Movement," of which Dr. Powell is chairman and the Rev. O. D. Dempsey, his assistant pastor, is executive secretary. Dr. Powell said in his speech that he may resign both his pastorate and his seat in Congress to expand and lead the "Movement." The program listed 16 Protestant ministers as the "initiating committee."

Herblock in Washington Post

"You don't have any seniority in this club."

AFTER THE PREFACE: Pullman porter E. D. Nixon, Montgomery Improvement Asst. treasurer, was guest of honor and main speaker. He began by reading a disclaimer of Communist affiliation and rejection of Communist aid. The anti-communist statement did not accompany press copies of his speech. Once through the loyalty declaration and half his manuscript, he shoved the papers aside and began speaking in his native idiom. Audience response was electric.

Tall, lanky, hard-muscled and black, the president of Montgomery's division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters told how the association was formed, last Dec. 5, to carry on a one-day boycott in answer to Mrs. Rosa Parks' arrest and conviction for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white person. He told calmly of the bombing of his home. He added:

"The Alabama papers have been saying some people've been riding the buses in spite of the protest movement. What they don't tell you is that they're white people riding."

Chairman of the meeting Dan M. Potter, exec. secy. of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, called on the Protestant ministers to lead 3-minute periods of meditation and prayer. These were followed by musical selections, remarks and prayers led by Rabbi Irving J. Block of the Brotherhood Synagogue and Rev. Father George B. Ford, rector of the Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church. Then the chairman called on the audience to pray individually, aloud or silently.

BULLETS OF PRAYER: At first there was no sound above the rustling and the occasional exclamations of 5,000 devout men and women. Then a woman in the far rear shrieked: "O God, please help us! Help those poor people in Alabama!" One voice after another rose then until no one of them stood alone. It was a medley of pleas to God for a glimpse of the Promised Land on earth.

Gradually they fell silent, except for one man's frantic, hoarse-throated exhortation. The ministers on the platform prayed silently, heads bowed, until Bishop James P. Roberts of St. Thomas' Liberal Catholic Church, striking in his scarlet robes, stepped forward, and shouted: "We have no weapons except the bullets of prayer!" Somebody responded: "God, have mercy on America!" And the blind Rev. John E. Gregory hushed the congregation by singing "His Eye Is on the Sparrow."

SMITH ACT TRIAL

Six are convicted in Conn.; one free

OF EIGHT Communist Party leaders on trial in New Haven, Conn., under Smith Act charges of conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the government, six were convicted, one was acquitted and another was put in the limbo of no agreement by the jury and may, at the discretion of the government, be tried again. The convicted were continued in bail until sentence at an unannounced date.

The trial was not only the longest in Connecticut history (five months) but was marked also by six days of deliberations by the jury before it returned its verdict. A remarkable aspect of the case was the fact that most of the battery of defense attorneys were court-appointed. With no personal sympathy for the defendants, they put up a staunch defense in terms of the Constitution and the right of dissent for all citizens.

The Connecticut case put the scoreboard of Smith Act prosecutions at 101 convictions and nine acquittals. A new round of trials begins in New York City this month.

THAT ACHIN' BACK

Painless green thumb

IT'S A LITTLE LATE to be catching up with a book published last August, but when would it be more timely than early April to tell you about a book entitled (take a deep breath) **How to Have A Green Thumb Without an Aching Back?** Subtitled "A New Method of Mulch Gardening," it was written by Ruth Stout, who lives in Reddings Ridge, Conn., and happens to be a sister of author Rex Stout.

When her knowledge of gardening had not yet ripened, her husband remarked of her: "Ruth may not have a green thumb, but she has a green tongue." When her book was published, her literary brother said:

"This book by Ruth scares me a little. If she can do as fine a job as this on gardening, a field which has already been well cultivated, what if she starts writing detective stories? The competition is stiff enough now."

WHOM IT'S FOR: Miss Stout's book is designed for busy people: the man with a full-time job, a mother with kids, older people who can't take to a hoe any longer—and lazy people who still want their yard to look nice. It is full of practical suggestions on how to grow all kinds of vegetables, berries, flowers and bulbs by natural, rather than artificial methods of cultivation.

The book is a delight to read; it has nothing of the arch quality that so often goes with gardening books, and it is full of valuable tips—plus a most generous and peaceful philosophy of living.

If you can't buy it at your bookstore, write to the publisher, Exposition Press, 386 Fourth Av., N. Y. C. 16. It sells for $2.75.

Warsaw Ghetto rally in New York April 22

A RALLY to commemorate the 13th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising will take place Sunday afternoon, April 22, at Manhattan Center in New York.

Rabbi Louis D. Gross, publisher and editor of the **Jewish Examiner,** heads the list of prominent speakers. There will be a dramatic presentation depicting the heroic struggle of the Warsaw Ghetto Jews who defied the armed might of the German army for 40 days before the Ghetto was burned to the ground and the Jews liquidated. Morris Carnovsky, well-known actor, will take part in the presentation.

The Philharmonic Chorus, directed by Yehuda Maleck, will sing, and David Kusevitzky, noted cantor, will chant the traditional Prayer for the Dead.

Jefferson courses on socialist changes

CONTROVERSIAL questions raised by the recent 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will play a big part in the coming Spring Term instructional program of the Jefferson School of Social Science, beginning this week. Special courses noted are "The Soviet Party Congress: Its Meaning for Americans," "The Teachings of Lenin," and "New Roads to Socialism: Changing Forms of Social Revolution."

The Jefferson School, 575 Av. of the Americas, was founded in 1944 as an adult evening school teaching social science and the arts from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. Its spring bulletin states that classes "are open to all, regardless of race or nationality, creed or political belief—no matter how much or little their previous schooling."

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Farmers' revolt

(Continued from Page 1)

form units in every county.

In three weeks they had 5,000 members; two weeks later the figure mushroomed to 9,000; last week they claimed 132,000 members with 50,000 in Iowa and 45,000 in Missouri. Memberships at $1 a year were reported still pouring in. When NFO adopted a formal constitution, it called for 100% of parity prices for all farm commodities. Most of the organization's fire was directed at Ezra Benson and an immediate aim was to send delegations from every county to Washington to tell Benson what they wanted.

STOVER GREETS IT: The new organization was welcomed by Fred Stover, head of the Iowa Farmers Union which was expelled from the parent organization when Stover led the fight for 100% parity and broke with the Natl. Farmers Union's support of the Truman administration and the Korean war. The February issue of the **Iowa Union Farmer** wrote:

> ". . . IFU members, while still paying dues to their union, are branching out and helping the NFO organize and are strengthening them numerically and programmatically. So the parity fight is again sweeping the prairies, and it puts the old discredited National farm leaders to shame, because it was not started or inspired by them, and is in fact opposed by them."

A UNION OF FARMERS: Side by side with the startlingly swift growth of the NFO another grassroots movement is shaping up in Iowa and spreading into Missouri. As yet it is a rather amorphous group with no name and no defined structure but its team of dedicated speakers and organizers is getting enthusiastic response. Their aim: to organize farmers into a union and affiliate with the AFL-CIO.

They have had no encouragement from top labor brass in Washington but they argue fervently for their point. An article in the **AFL-CIO American Federationist** for April points out that ". . . while labor has co-operated closely with a number of farm organizations and will continue to work with liberal farm groups, no action has been taken by the AFL-CIO to organize land-owning farmers."

THEY WERE ALL HANDS AT KEFAUVER HEADQUARTERS
This was the victory scene at the Hotel Nicolet in Minneapolis

BACK DOOR FOR EZRA: The article also cites a picket line that greeted Benson on his arrival in Des Moines recently for the Natl. Farm Institute sponsored by the local Chamber of Commerce. It was staged by members of Local 89 of the AFL-CIO Packinghouse Workers who wore barrels and carried placards: "Ezra has farmers over a barrel, wants workers in it." Ezra entered the hotel through the back door.

It was Packinghouse Workers president Ralph Helstein who, in a speech in Minneapolis, suggested an idea which seems to have inspired many a Midwest farmer. He thought that farmers might find a solution for the problem of fair prices for their commodities through direct negotiations and collective bargaining with processors. The "union farmers" in Iowa are intrigued with this notion but seem to feel that it could be practical only through affiliation with the labor movement. In case of disputes, they argue, the organized workers of the processing plant could refuse to handle farm produce.

One leader of the "union farmer" movement argues:

> "There is nothing that we couldn't do with farmers and labor working together."

LET'S GET MARRIED: Another, Corbin Crawford, puts it this way:

> "Consider this. Just imagine what happens when Benson and his boys get what they want: they drive the little farmer off the land. Then you get 3,000,000 guys knocking at the factory gates for jobs. . . . Think what the influx of dispossessed farmers will do to your unions, the social gains of the last half century. It could crush them."

He adds that the farmer will be better off with a "wedding ring with labor than a clandestine affair with the NAM."

The "union farmer" idea seems to be taking hold. Crawford reports that at one recent meeting 203 of 208 farmers present signed petitions calling for union affiliation and says the movement "is sweeping across the state [of Missouri] like a forest fire."

Another "union farmer" leader predicts that the NFO will eventually join the movement for labor affiliation. But pending organic unity of farmer and worker, the drive is finding its own immediate forms.

IOWA MASS RALLY: **Labor's Daily** on March 22 reported that a meeting of "union farmers" and leaders of the Iowa State CIO leaders agreed to establish farmer-labor committees in the four corners of the state and to work for immediate regional mass meetings of farmers and industrial workers who are being hit by lay-offs in the state's big farm equipment industry. A huge statewide mass rally is planned following the four regional meetings. Labor will have full representation on the regional committees. A state CIO leader told the farmers that labor will not attempt to chart their course but said:

> "You decide what you want, and I can pledge that labor will support you."

For his part, Crawford said:

> "If agriculture and labor ever clasp hands, they'll lead this nation through the greatest period of stabilized prosperity in history. And it won't be based on boom and bust or mortgaged future spending."

INDEPENDENT ACTION? All the ingredients for a full-scale farm rebellion were present and the possibilities for independent political action were emphasized by the fact that the new movements were by-passing all the old established farm organizations.

Most striking was the strong pull of the farmer toward the labor movement. It is conceivable that the one thing lacking—an independent political movement to channel this revolt—might eventually arise from the present ferment.

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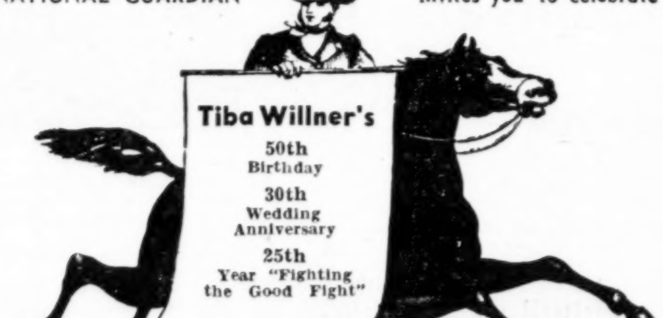

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Detroit

JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN and **HAROLD CRANEFIELD**, General Counsel, UAW, among speakers at banquet honoring **STANLEY NOWAK**, former State Senator, on his 53rd birthday, Sun., April 15, 5 p.m., Midland Union Hall, 7834 Mt. Elliott, near Conant. Reservations at $2.50 from Banquet Committee, 7525 Wykes, Detroit 10. TE 4-0073.

Newark, N. J.

KATHERINE VAN ORDEN Fund for Freedom Meeting, Wed., April 11, 8:15 p.m., Essex House, 1050 Broad St., Newark. Speakers: John Abt, C B. Baldwin, Jessie Campbell, Catherine Hoffman, James Imbrie, John T. McManus, Mrs. Frederich Melcher, Paul Robeson, Aubrey Williams. In memory of Mrs. Van Orden, Progressive Party officer and civil leader, died Feb. 20, 1956.

San Francisco

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS speaks against SACB witch-hunt attack on the California Labor School, Fri., April 13, 8 p.m., Hotel Whitcomb. Entertainment. Robert W. Kenny, chairman. Auspices: Comm. for Defense of Academic Freedom.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) presents a group of psychological films April 7, centering about the subject of family relationships. Showings: Sat. only, 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm. Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **A SONG TO REMEMBER.**

MONTHLY REVIEW LECTURE. SPEAKERS: BARROWS DUNHAM AND PROF. H. H. WILSON. WED., APRIL 11, 8:30 P.M., AT FRATERNAL CLUBHOUSE, 110 W. 48 ST. ADMISSION: AT DOOR, $1.25; IN ADVANCE, $1. WRITE FOR TICKETS TO MONTHLY REVIEW ASSOCIATES, 218 W. 10 ST., N. Y. 14: OR PHONE OREGON 5-6939.

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Write to President to ban H-tests

LETTERS to President Eisenhower demanding cancellation of scheduled H-bomb tests in the Pacific later this month were urged by the Southern California Peace Crusade last week.

The SCPC recalled the Mar. 1, 1954, tests after which 23 Japanese fishermen and 236 Marshall Islanders suffered from radioactive dust. It suggested letters and telegrams be sent also to Harold Stassen representing the U. S. at disarmament talks in London, asking him to press for an international agreement to ban all experimental explosions. In her own letter to the President, Vicki Landish, SCPC exec. director, proposed "a new Summit Meeting in the Pacific to further the Geneva spirit, and a new, bold initiative towards abolition of all nuclear tests and total nuclear disarmament."

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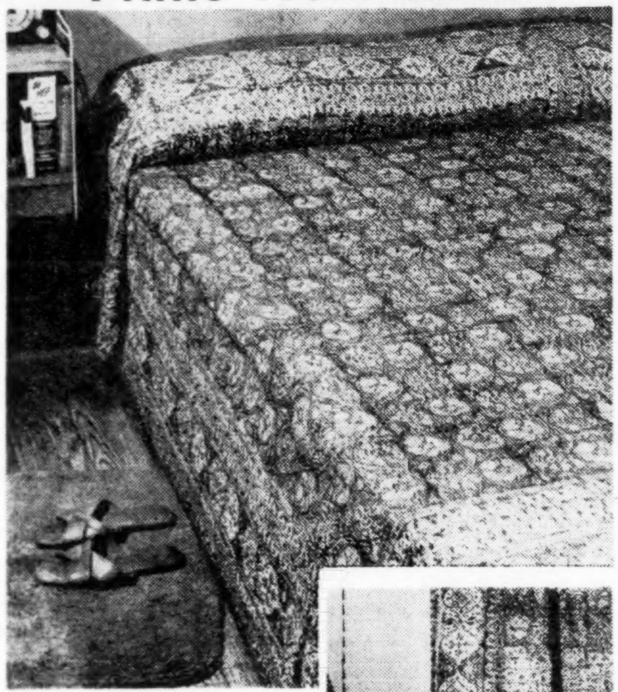

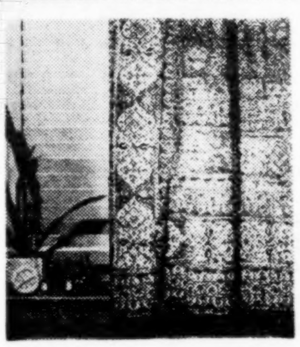

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the SPECTATOR

The Gilded Age

AMERICA'S MOST VENERATED EXPERT on the art of whitewashing was Mark Twain. As unique background material for the upcoming whitewash of Senate oil lobby shenanigans over the Natural Gas Bill, we recommend a re-reading of Mark Twain's account in **The Gilded Age** of a curiously similar occurrence. The issue before the Senate investigating committee on that occasion was the allegation of one Mr. Noble, a state legislator from Happy-Land-of-Canaan, that U. S. Senator Abner Dilworthy from that worthy state had given him $7,000 in bribes and promised $3,000 more to buy Mr. Noble's vote for Sen. Dilworthy's return to the U. S. Senate. (At that time, the 1870's, U. S. Senators were elected by their state legislatures.)

After hearing Mr. Noble's charge the Committee invited Sen. Dilworthy to take the stand. The Senator:

". . . wiped his mouth with his handkerchief, adjusted his cravat, and said that but for the fact that public morality required an example, for the warning of future Nobles, he would beg that in Christian charity this poor misguided creature might be forgiven and set free. He said it was but too evident that this person had approached him in the hope of obtaining a bribe; he had intruded himself time and again, and always with moving stories of his poverty. . . .

"Some instinct had told him from the beginning [the Senator said] that this was a bad man, an evil-minded man, but his inexperience of such had blinded him to his real motives, and hence he had never dreamed that his object was to undermine the purity of a United States Senator. . . .

"It so happened [said the Senator] that about the time in question a poor young friend of mine, living in a distant town of my State, wished to establish a bank; he asked me to lend him the necessary money; I said I had no money, but would try to borrow it. The day before the election a friend said to me that my election expenses must be very large—especially my hotel bills—and offered to lend me some money. Remembering my young friend, I said I would like a few thousands now, and a few more by and by; whereupon he gave me two packages of bills said to contain $2,000 and $5,000 respectively. I did not open the packages or count the money; I did not give any note or receipt for the same, I made no memorandum of the transaction, and neither did my friend. That night this evil man Noble came troubling me again. I could not rid myself of him, though my time was very precious. He mentioned my young friend and said he was very anxious to have $7,000 now to begin his banking operations with, and could wait a while for the rest. Noble wished to get the money and take it to him. I finally gave him the two packages of bills; I took no note or receipt from him, and made no memorandum of the matter. I no more look for duplicity and deception in another man than I would look for it in myself. I never thought of this man again until I was overwhelmed the next day by learning what a shameful use he had made of the confidence I had reposed in him and the money I had entrusted to his care. This is all, gentlemen. To the absolute truth of every detail of my statement I solemnly swear, and I call Him to witness who is the Truth and the loving Father of all whose lips abhor false speaking; I pledge my honor as a Senator, that I have spoken but the truth. May God forgive this wicked man—as I do."

Mr. Noble: "Senator Dilworthy, your bank account shows that up to that day, and even on that very day, you conducted all your financial business through the medium of checks instead of bills, and so kept careful record of every money transaction. Why did you deal in bank bills on this particular occasion?"

The Chairman: "The gentleman will please remember that the Committee is conducting this investigation."

Mr. Noble: "Then will the Committee ask the question?"

The Chairman: "The Committee will—when it desires to know."

Mr. Noble: "Which will not be during this century perhaps."

The Chairman: "Another remark like that, sir, will procure you the attentions of the Sergeant-at-Arms."

Mr. Noble: "D--n the Sergeant-at-Arms, and the Committee too!"

Several Committeemen: "Mr. Chairman, this is contempt!"

Mr. Noble: "Contempt of whom?"

Committeemen: "Of the Committee! Of the Senate of the United States!"

Mr. Noble: "Then I am become the acknowledged representative of a nation. You know as well as I do that the whole nation hold as much as three-fifths of the United States Senate in entire contempt. Three-fifths of you are Dilworthys."

"The Sergeant-at-Arms very soon put a quietus upon the observations of the representative of the nation, and convinced him that he was not in the over-free atmosphere of his Happy-Land-of-Canaan." —**The Gilded Age**, pp. 536-539.

Att. East Bay

OAKLAND, CALIF.

In answer to the appeal of Rev. Claude Williams for clothing and other help for the sharecroppers of Alabama, and other parts of the deep South, we have a small committee which has started shipping used clothing as suggested. The main obstacle is the shipping costs. Will readers from our area (Berkeley-Oakland-East Bay) who would like to help on this, please write or phone Fran Harwayne, 6525 Dover, Oakland, Calif., OL 4-1035; B. and Ed Linton at HI 4-2935 or 2541 San Pablo, Oakland.

We will sort, pack and ship clothing and shoes in good condition. We welcome financial assistance for the freight costs.

Ed, B. & Fran